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NATIONAL FRONT 20 YEARS ON

20 PAGE SPECIAL
ISSUE



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EDITORIAL

FEBRUARY 1987

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NATIONAL FRONT — ALL SYSTEMS GO!

ONE OF the most important meetings in the 20 year history of the National Front took place in London on the 10th January. Officials representing nearly 50 branches of the party met to reform and reorganise the party so that it can more effectively meet the challenges of the 80's and beyond.

Few experienced NF members can, after reviewing the party's history, doubt that the National Front's worst enemy has usually been — the National Front. For 20 years the party has been lumbered with an antiquated leadership structure that, by concentrating power within the hands of small cliques, has encouraged internal dissention and proved inherently unstable.

All too often the solid gains made by the hard work of local activists, has been squandered as a result of 'leadership' squabbles; time and time again the party snatched defeat from the jaws of victory. All those present on the 10th were determined to ensure that truly revolutionary changes were made in the internal organisation of the National Front, so that it can get down to its main task — the advancement of the Nationalist cause within Britain — unhindered by petty internal disputes.

DECENTRALISE

The meeting unanimously adopted a proposal to decentralise power to the grass roots of the party. Local branches will now be largely autonomous, able to organise themselves and their activities according to local goals and external circumstances.

Nationally a Steering Committee, chaired by Martin Wingfield, editor of *The Flag* newspaper, was elected to co-ordinate the work of local units and to organise a regular supply of NF literature and recruitment material to branches, and also to make the necessary General Election preparations.

The Steering Committee will also have one other task: the preparation of a new Constitution for the party, for formal adoption at its next AGM, that will reflect its new confederal structure. This will be done in full consultation with NF branches; meanwhile if any *Vanguard* readers have constructive suggestions to make on the subject we would be glad to hear them.

CONFEDERACY

Until the AGM the NF will be run according to the principles of the Confederacy adopted on January 10th. Not only will this minimise the chances of internal disputes in the party but, more importantly, it means the adoption of a modern, flexible, decentralist structure for the NF.

Local initiatives will no longer be hampered by bureaucratic centralism, and our opponents will find it much more difficult to strike any mortal blows against a body that has, in effect, not one head but more than fifty.

Twenty years after its formation in February 1967 the National Front is now surely maturing. Like a human being it has, of necessity, gone through its infantile and adolescent phases, and now stands on the verge of a new found political maturity. Let no-one be in any doubt; there is room on the contemporary British political scene for a Nationalist party to establish its credentials as a serious political force — and the members and officials of the National Front are now united in their determination to ensure the party rises to meet the challenge ahead.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

30 YEARS ON — the problem the Cabinet ignored

THE PROBLEM of coloured immigration was discussed openly by the Cabinet during the 1950's. Indeed, such discussions echoed the belief of the National Front that immigration was "an ominous problem".

For instance, although it was decided to take no action on the 'tide of immigration', a committee of government ministers reported on June 22nd, 1956 that immigration controls must be racist in nature. This report has only just been released under the '30 year rule' covering the publication of Cabinet and Government committee minutes. Thus, even though a draft Bill controlling immigration would be 'non-discriminatory' in form, "it would nevertheless be clear against whom the Bill was really directed".

The committee's terms of reference said nothing specifically of race, but the ministers themselves said the problem was "coloured people from the African and Asiatic territories of the Commonwealth and from the West Indies".

The committee said, "While coloured workers have recently made a useful contribution to the labour force(sic), the employment situation is clearly hardening somewhat. An actual trade recession might well involve unfortunate incidents where coloured men were either thrown out of work or deprived white men of jobs."

Furthermore, Cabinet was advised: "We all agree that coloured immigration has become an ominous problem which cannot now be ignored."

"The majority of the committee, while taking the view that some form of control over coloured immigration will eventually be inescapable, consider that the balance of advantage lies against taking steps... at the present time".

WORSE POSITION

Lord Salisbury, the Lord President, dissented, arguing that "the longer we delay, the worse the position is bound to become".

It is outrageous, yet typical, that British politicians in the 1950's saw coloured immigration as an "ominous problem" but still refused to take any steps to stop it and reverse the tide. Lord Salisbury, the lone dissenter, may have been an honourable exception. Yet he too put career before country. After all, Lord Salisbury is hardly remembered as one who fought fearlessly against the evils of multi-racialism.

Perhaps he ought to have reminded himself of Edmund Burke's assertion that "all that is necessary for the triumph of evil, is that good men do nothing".

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and THE EUROPEAN

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IS THIS BRITAIN IN 1984?

20th Century Tower of Babel

ANOTHER stage in the downward path has been reached. Sir Edward Boyle, Minister of Education, has told the pupils of Bechell they must accept integration in their schools. Racial mixing is being encouraged through the deliberate action of Conservative Government against the strong and clear wishes of the people. This may look good but has slipped back on a full-blown party system, and it is time the people asked where it is leading.

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We were warned - a patriotic publication warns of the consequences of multi-racialism 25 years ago

Race Relations — Asian Style

IN INDIA at least 700 people, mostly Hindus, have been killed during the five year-old campaign for a separate Sikh state. This ethnic violence has encouraged other racial minorities and language groups to resort to violent protest to gain their objectives — thus tearing multi-racial India apart.

Sikh militants killed six people and wounded five as the New Year opened on a bloody note in the Punjab. And in Madras a bomb exploded outside a police station, killing a woman — the latest in more than a dozen incidents of bombing and arson in December, in Southern India, caused mainly by Tamils.

The Times of India spoke of a "mood of despair in India" and the Indian Express warned that "the country appears to be sliding back to the policies of fragmentation" with "the forces of disintegration disconcertingly strident". Girilal Jain, editor of the Times of India said "the country is filled with hate from one corner to the other, ready to explode into violence at the slightest excuse".

Ironically it was the press who were to

blame for the worst ethnic violence last month. The Deccan Herald published a short story entitled Mohammed the Idiot which sparked off Muslim riots which cost twenty lives.

ORGY

The same period saw a similar pattern of events emerge in Pakistan as at least 114 people were killed and more than 500 injured in the worst orgy of ethnic bloodshed in Pakistan's recent history.

Witnesses told of frenzied crowds dragging women and children from their homes and beating them, tossing teenagers into blazing houses and stabbing young boys, as the long-standing tension between two rival Pakistani communities exploded.

Troops rushed to enforce curfews in five areas and quell the rioting, which erupted on the third day of a major sweep against drugs and arms-dealers in Karachi, the Pakistani capital.

The violence erupted in Orangi Town, a suburb of Karachi largely inhabited by Mohajirs. The Mohajirs are immigrants from

India who came to Pakistan when India was partitioned in 1947.

Residents said men from the rival Pathan community launched an apparently pre-planned assault, armed with Kalashnikov rifles, pistols, axes, daggers and iron bars.

The Pathans, who come from north-west Pakistan and neighbouring Afghanistan, set fire to Mohajir-owned property.

The two communities have a history of ethnic clashes going back more than two decades. Indeed, in the month prior to these latest clashes 58 people were killed in rioting.

When one sees the way ethnic minorities are treated in Pakistan, it makes one realise how lucky Britain's ethnic minorities are that the British people are so tolerant. If the British dealt with their racial problems Asian-style, Britain's immigrants would have far more to complain about than mere 'discrimination'. Perhaps that's something multi-racialists should bear in mind before they moralise and sound off about 'white racism'....

Spending cuts put national treasure at risk

THE national collections housed in Britain's museums and galleries are at severe risk of damage and decay, and standards have fallen behind their European counterparts, because of serious underfunding, according to a report published in January.

The First Division Association, the trade union representing senior curatorial staff, made 12 recommendations to the Government in a report by its museum section, *A Stitch in Time*.

It finds buildings in urgent need of repair, national treasures being dispersed; tatty and ageing exhibitions, and staff cuts limiting public access at a time when visits to museums and galleries are at a record high.

The union says that the national purchase grant, funded by the Office of Arts and Libraries, has fallen from £10.38 million in 1980-81 to £8.23 million in the current year.

In the same six years the retail price index rose by 40% and, more importantly, prices in the international art market doubled, with Sotheby's aggregate index rising from 236 in 1981 (1975 = 100) to 473 in October 1986. The union says that purchase grants should reflect the level of international prices.

The union's report contrasts the UK position with that in West Germany, France and other European countries. It says that the most innovative buildings, the best displays, and the highest overall standards are to be found in places like the *Kunstgewerbe* in Berlin, the *Musee d'Orsay* in Paris, and the *Ca' d'Oro* in Venice.

The UK provides a more popular service — 27 million visits a year to national galleries and museums compared with 10.5 million in France and 7.5 million in Italy — but funding has fallen far behind.

The union says that overall spending in West Germany is several times that of Britain, while in Sweden the government spends three times as much per head of population and four times as much per visitor.

WAR DAMAGE

The British Museum needs £4 million for essential repairs, quite apart from a permanent replacement for roofing damage in the war. The Victoria and Albert, hit by flooding last year, needs £26 million by the end of the decade to bring its buildings up to an adequate state of repair. The National Museum of Scotland, also hit by flooding, needs an overhaul to the roof.

"But building problems are more often chronic, cumulative and insidious, arising from inadequate storage facilities and overcrowding," the report says.

It says that in the British Museum one of the most important collection of prints and drawings in the world is housed in



A detail from Constable's *Flatford Mill* — at risk in the Victoria & Albert Museum

overcrowded conditions, with neither temperature nor humidity controls.

British Nationalists will be horrified by the Government's neglect for our Nation's treasures and will be grateful to the First Division Association for highlighting this neglect in their report. There is, however, one important area in which Nationalists will take the FDA to task, namely their assertion that purchase grants should reflect the level of international prices.

On the contrary, because Britain's national treasures are an integral part of the Nation's heritage they are, of their nature, **priceless**, i.e. no price, international or otherwise, can be placed upon them. In fact, any

government concerned with the preservation of national heritage must take all such priceless treasures off the international market. Instead, as indispensable and integral parts of the Nation itself, they should be kept within the Nation for posterity.

When one looks at the way the Government and the First Division Association subject our national treasures to the uncaring, unfeeling and unseeing laws of economics one is reminded of Oscar Wilde's definition of a cynic: "A cynic", wrote Mr Wilde, "is someone who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing".

Is the British Capital good for British capital?

THE Common Market countries recently agreed on a liberalisation of capital movements throughout the Community.

Under a directive adopted by EEC Finance Ministers, the Common Market countries will be obliged to lift exchange controls covering long-term commercial credits, transactions in unlisted securities and units for collective investments, such as unit trusts.

Nigel Lawson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, defended the move by stating that it would mean a great deal of new business going through the City of London. Perhaps it will. Indeed, no-one is denying that the free movement of capital is good for business as far as City plutocrats are concerned.

The question which Mr. Lawson forgets to

ask, but one which the British economy can ill afford to, is whether that which is good for the City of London is necessarily good for British industry. Or to put it another way, is the Capital good for capital?

In reality, the new Common Market legislation may well mean, either now or in the future, a great deal of British capital flowing freely through the hands of middlemen in the City of London before leaving this country for ever, bound for more favourable factors of production in Europe or the Third World.

To put it simply, the EEC decision to liberalise capital movements has pulled the plug from under the British economy while the City of London is the plug-hole through which the wealth of our Nation will be drained.

POLLUTED RIVERS — Factory farms to blame

BRITAIN'S rivers are getting dirtier for the first time in more than a quarter of a century, according to Government figures.

The figures, in a report issued quietly by the Department of the Environment recently, contradict attempts by Ministers to suggest that all is well.

The Department's report shows that hundreds of miles of rivers, canals and estuaries in England and Wales became more polluted between 1980 and 1985. More recent figures — not included in the report — show that the situation is now even worse.

During the first half of the 1980's 3,506 miles of waterways became filthier from pollution. This marks a dramatic and alarming reversal as all previous surveys since 1958 showed Britain's rivers steadily improving.

There are two main causes for this reversal. Firstly, spending on sewage treatment fell by more than half between 1974 and 1981 and is only slowly increasing again.

Secondly, agriculture has emerged as a major polluter. Since 1979 water pollution incidents from farms — mainly leaking slurry and silage — have increased by 250%.

Hitherto clean rural rivers are now joining such traditionally dirty waterways as the Mersey and Weaver, the Aire and Calder, the Don and Rother, the Tees and the Tyne, all of which run through major industrial areas.

The report cites deterioration of the River Cherwell near Banbury, The Cut near Windsor, the River Thame near Aylesbury, the River Wellow near Bath and the River Parrett in Somerset. Also many smaller rivers throughout the country are shown to be seriously polluted.

Much of the upper River Tywi in South Wales, once amongst the cleanest water category, has become the second most polluted because of the effects of acid rain, and half of the canals in the Anglian Water Authority's area are more polluted because of increased boating.

DISGUISE

Mr Marek Mayer, editor of the specialist monthly, *Environmental Data Services*, expressed his concern over the Government's response to these alarming figures: "The Government is trying to disguise the real trend which is worsening".

As these figures show clearly, and to reiterate Mr. Mayer's comment, the trend is worsening. This being so what can be done to save Britain's rivers from the pollution plague?

In particular, what can be done to rectify the fact that agriculture has now emerged as a major polluter of British rivers? More to the point, **why** has agriculture become a major polluter?



Quite simply, the answer lies in the mania for mammoth agri-business farms which was exposed in the last issue of *Vanguard*. Like factories, these 'factory farms' cause pollution on a massive scale. For example, agri-businesses saturate the soil with chemicals. The land on agri-business farms is over-dosed with insecticides, fungicides and herbicides and, inevitably, these chemicals seep through the soil into rivers and streams. Furthermore, as the report disclosed, leaking slurry and silage is now a major cause of river pollution with a 250% increase in the last few

years. Once more, this is due to the growth of agri-business.

SACRED COW

Agri-businesses see 'specialisation' as a sacred cow. This being so, they spurn traditional mixed farming techniques as 'old-fashioned' and, instead, put their faith in mono-culture. This, in turn, means that factory-farms producing meat have no use for the tons of animal manure which they produce.

Whereas traditional mixed farms use their animal manure to fertilise their vegetable crops, factory-farms specialising solely in meat production have no such use for manure. For them it is a wasteful by-product to be stored and disposed of. In the meantime of course, it is a potential pollution hazard...

By comparison, a return to traditional small farms would herald a return to a far cleaner environment — including far cleaner rivers in agricultural areas. Such farms — using traditional mixed farming techniques — would use the manure produced by their livestock to give nourishment to the soil which, in turn, feeds their vegetable crops. Thus artificial chemicals would not be needed and no huge build-up of potentially polluting animal slurry would ever arise.

Instead of poisoning his environment and polluting his rivers, man would then be living in natural equilibrium with the land which nourishes him.

The rape of mother earth

ONLY a tiny fraction of the life-forms on earth is known to man, and the wanton destruction of the rest, now rapidly taking place, could threaten humanity. This was the worrying conclusion reached by an international group of biologists recently.

Only about 1.6 million distinct species have been classified, most of them insects, and unknown species may number anything between 5 million and 30 million. "We don't even know the number to the nearest order of magnitude," said Professor Edward Wilson of Harvard University.

The danger to humanity lies in the fact that tiny, obscure creatures and plants are at the start of complicated chains that support all life. If a plant species is destroyed, thousands of insect species that depend on it will also be destroyed, the predators which prey on them will also perish, and so on.

Professor Wilson said that tropical rain forests are being destroyed at the rate of 3,700 square miles a year, an area the size of Majorca.

"I believe that all the tropical forests could be destroyed by the middle of the next century", said Professor Thomas Lovejoy, vice-president of the World Wildlife Fund in Washington.

This destruction of tropical rain forests should cause concern to all those who understand the delicate balance and natural order upon which all life on earth is dependent. For instance, rain forests, such as the Amazon Jungle in South America, are essential to the oxygenation of the earth's atmosphere.

Mother Earth is the nurturer of all life on this planet. As such she deserves and demands our respect. That is something mankind can ill-afford to forget. Quite simply those who rape her will not reap her benefits for long.

THE LESSONS OF THE FIRST 20 YEARS

ANDREW BRONS, a founder member of the National Front in 1967, and the Party's Chairman throughout the early 1980's, takes a critical look back over the NF's first 20 years. Success and failure alike are examined, as Andrew asks, 'What are the lessons of the first 20 years?'

THERE IS no such thing as 'The History of the National Front'; there are as many histories as there are those who have taken part in it.

Our perceptions of our Party's development will inevitably be centred on the parts played, the stands taken or not taken and the choices made by ourselves.

I do not pretend that my account will succeed in being objective where others would have failed. Perhaps it is simply that I lack the imagination and capacity for self-delusion necessary to seeing one's own stands as a single grand strategy, from which the Party has deviated, only at great cost to itself.

We have certainly seen some spectacular triumphs: Martin Webster's 16% in the West Bromwich by-election in 1973; Mike Lobb's 11% beating the Tories in the Newham by-election in 1974; and my own rather more modest 8% (beating the Liberals) in 1977 in the Stechford By-election. The combined votes of the NF and National Party in 1976 in Deptford were greater than that secured by the winning Labour candidate; and the NP gained two seats on Blackburn Council.

Our votes in the GLC elections in 1977 appeared to be further evidence of an electoral advance that could not be stopped. It even resulted in an approach that was disdainfully rejected by the then Chairman from a person who is still a prominent politician — and whose identity will remain confidential — for so long as he continues to leave the usual plain brown package in the usual place!

Our determination to hold our lawful activities without interference has been almost invariably successful. The greatest physical challenges were undoubtedly at Red Lion Square in 1974; in Lewisham in 1977; and in Southall in 1979. At Red Lion Square the International Marxist Group charged towards our lines; found to their dismay that there were no friendly Dixons of Dock Green to hold them back; looked uneasily at the lowered points on our Union Flags; and decided that perhaps revolution was better left to rougher chappies more used to that sort of thing. They fled back to their lines accompanied by a thunderous chant of "The Reds, The Reds, We've got to get rid of The Reds". Lewisham was even bloodier (although there was no Kevin Gately for the Reds to canonise) but our column arrived at its destination. There was no march in Southall but our election meeting took



Andrew Brons

place despite the presence of thousands of Asian demonstrators. At least Kevin Gately won some company; he was joined by fellow left-wing martyr Blair Peach.

MARCH BANS

The circumventions of march bans have resulted in many other memorable victories. We led the police in 1981 to think we were marching in Bradford and then turned up in Huddersfield. In 1984 we marched along the boundaries of Bedfordshire after the Chief Constable of that county decided to impose a ban on marches in every single Bedfordshire district. We then drove into the centre of Luton (the district in which we had originally

intended to march) and held an open air meeting. The fact that there was not a hint of trouble at either, demonstrated quite incontrovertibly that the Chief Constable's decision was dishonestly and illegally taken.

Many have doubted the long term political value of such stunts but they did win us publicity (particularly Martin Webster's lone march through Tameside) and brought public attention to the fact that we were being the objects of a cynical attempt to prevent freedom of speech and assembly. They also served a useful function in restoring and maintaining the morale of our members. Both effects diminished with repetition and eventually march bans were effected or claimed to be effected without a single line of publicity.

Perhaps more important have been the less immediately perceptible but more enduring changes of fortune that the party has undergone. On the debit side we have lost members and morale through the crushing of false hopes and disillusionment with internal strife. Some — probably a minority — made their most valuable contribution when they left. Some others were talented and loyal but simply found themselves on the losing side of a factional war that was not of their choosing. Probably most, like most other people, had virtues and flaws — people who at different times have shown selfless commitment and selfish disregard for the principles we hold dear. It was the Party's failure that it did not manage to exploit their virtues without suffering from their faults. To be able to do that is the defining characteristic of an association of people that pretends to be an organisation.

YOUNG PEOPLE

Just as imperceptible but of equal importance were the people — principally young people — we attracted from 1977 onwards. They certainly lacked the political and administrative experience of those whom they replaced — the older more middle class people frightened by the violence and embarrassed by the smears. Some may have joined for the wrong reasons. Nevertheless, many of them rose quickly to form a talented stratum of speakers and writers unprecedented in Post War Nationalist politics. It is true that some of them rose at a rate faster than their growth in maturity. Perhaps we should not blame undergraduates if they continued to speak out and write as if they were undergraduates.

The massive expansion in talent has resulted in an improvement in the standard of articles and a transformation of the party from

a reactive (NB not reactionary) Party that knew exactly what it opposed but not what it stood for, to a Radical Racial Nationalist Party with a cohesive ideology and a comprehensive policy.

The splits that have occurred have invariably been rationalised as being political, ideological or strategic in origin. But those have never been the ultimate causes — at least as long as we insist that a cause should precede an effect!

The principal cause has invariably been personal — albeit personal rivalry for positions or personal feelings at being slighted by removal or attempted removal from positions. For people whose public reputation would hardly be considered to be noted for its sensitivity, we have sometimes shown ourselves to be remarkably petty in our response to being removed from positions that are only chores. People who have suffered a similar indignity at a local level wait for their first opportunity to join the opposite national faction from that supported by their local rivals. It really is a re-run of the English Civil War each time!

Until we recognise this destructive tendency for what it is and make an intelligent effort to avoid it in the future, we have no right to ask the British people to entrust us with their country and their nation.

There can be no doubt that the greatest achievement to our credit — one that outweighs all our flaws together — is that we are recognised and understood by virtually the whole country, as the enemy of multi-racialism. We are a living denial of the myth that Britain is a successful multi-racial society (as distinct from a failed multi-racial state).

Our successful identification of the Party with the Union Jack is such that the mere sight of our Nation's flag produces instant connection with the National Front.

MERGER

The National Front was formed in February 1967 from a merger of the League of Empire Loyalists and the British National Party (of which I was a member). In the following year the Greater Britain Movement was disbanded by John Tyndall and he advised his members to apply to join the new party. John Tyndall himself was allowed to join later in that year. 1968 saw the departure of one of the two joint chairmen Andrew Fountaine and the other A.K. Chesterton followed him two years later. His successor, John O'Brien went off to form his own 'party' in 1972 and he was replaced by Kingsley Read (known affectionately as GHD).

By the end of 1975 Read and half the directorate had left to form the National Party that was an incongruous mixture of sound radicals like Steve Brady and Richard Lawson and Tory opportunists like Read. It was the most successful of any of the breakaway organisations and might have continued to be a threat to the NF had it not split within itself.

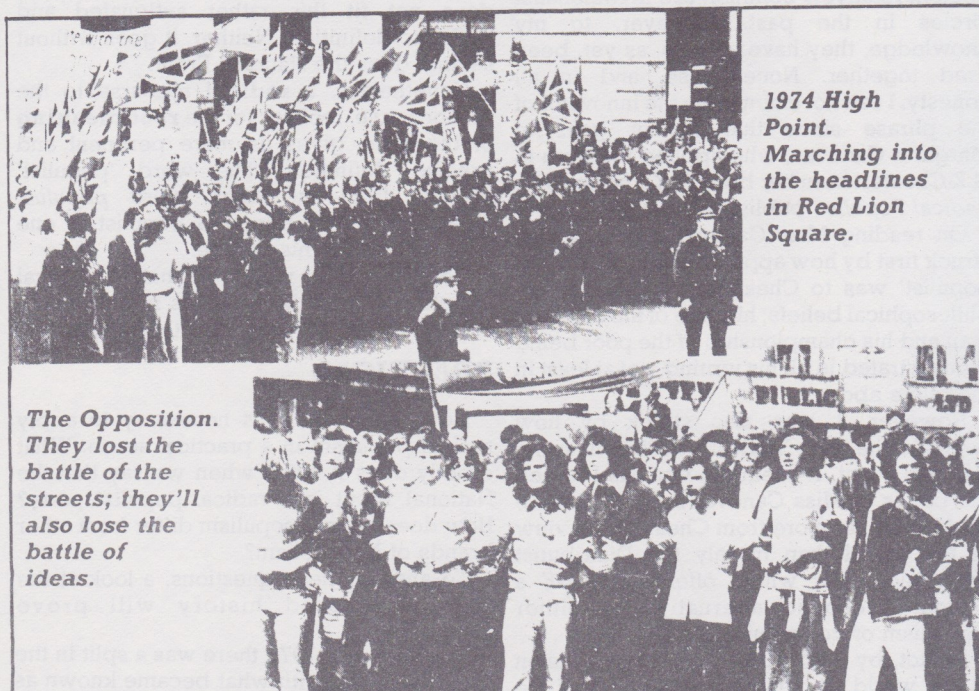
1980 was undisputedly a boom year for factions: we produced three within a few months! Anthony Reed-Herbert's British Democratic Party did not see its twelfth month; Andrew Fountaine's and Paul Kavanagh's Constitutional Movement survived in a semi-comatose state for about

eighteen months, whilst John Tyndall found one way of avoiding splits in his New National Front (later the British National Party) — keeping all the power in his own hands! The BNP has lasted longer than most splinter groups and attracted enough establishment attention to get John Tyndall and his newspaper's editor prison sentences under the Race Relations Act.

The latest division amongst the governing body, if taken at its face value, was the result of an outburst of schoolboy (or should I say schoolgirl) malice against Ian Anderson because (in Nick Griffin's words) "he was on his way back" — after having given up the Chairmanship. However there is growing evidence that the Romanian/Libyan tendency were not simply inefficient when they failed to send membership cards to 80% of members. I was not surprised by their mentality in claiming that they had been spirited away by MI5 that is unfortunately all too common in politics of all varieties. I was appalled to think that they should have so much contempt for our members that they should seriously expect them to believe this

The recurrent problems of disunity in the Party always start at the top — within the Directorate — although they are invariably aggravated by local difficulties. There is no doubt that the proposed composition of the Directorate with a majority of Regional Representatives will go a very long way towards avoiding the personal friction that has caused so much harm to the Party we all love.

So far I have written as if I were a spectator, though not perhaps a disinterested spectator. However, there are few who have less right to disclaim responsibility for the troubles that have befallen our Movement. I have been a member of the Party since its foundation and I was a member of one of its constituent organisations before that. I have been a member of the Party's Directorate (and now its steering committee) since 1974. I was Chairman for four and a half years for the second longest period and the longest continuous period. I am aware of a number of mistakes I have made or contributed to, though they were mainly sins of omission rather than commission. I tried in all cases to



1974 High Point.
Marching into the headlines in Red Lion Square.

The Opposition.
They lost the battle of the streets; they'll also lose the battle of ideas.

nonsense. I am only sorry that some people, who had shown and may show again considerable promise, should damage their credibility in this way.

However, not even this blow to the movement can cause it lasting damage. It has shown itself to be more resilient than that.

There are a number of very hopeful signs that bode well for the future. There have been two entirely peaceful transfers of the Chairmanship with the successor Chairman enjoying the full confidence and support of his predecessor. The last three chairmen before the 1986 Putsch are close colleagues who enjoy mutual respect and confidence. Joe Pearce and Martin Wingfield both showed the spirit of sacrifice, by taking on the Race tyrants head on, that will always be an inspiration to all true Nationalists. Although Ian Anderson was acquitted, he deliberately prolonged his own trial in order that he might be of assistance to Joe at his trial.

prevent the splits but always left it too late, though it is by no means certain that they could have been prevented whatever I might have done.

If Nationalism is to succeed it must effect a transformation not only in the Nation but in the Movement and the view that each member has of each other. I find the traits of some Nationalists irritating; they must find many of mine unbearable but of the thousands of Nationalists I have known I remember principally their positive characteristics. Perhaps only when we see in our current Nationalist colleagues their virtues before we see their vices, will the Movement have achieved its full maturity.

That transformation in our outlook may appear impossible. The idea that our success depends on it must appear to damn our chances, but I am an optimist; I know that we shall effect the transformation and I know that we shall succeed.

ROOTS OF OUR BELIEFS

RADICAL POPULISM

JOE PEARCE

"Those who speak scornfully of the ignorance of the mob do not err as to the fact itself; their error is in not seeing that just as a crowd is comparatively ignorant, so a crowd is comparatively innocent ... you may say if you will that the poor are always at the tail of the procession, and that whether they are morally worse or better depends on whether humanity as a whole is proceeding towards heaven or hell. When humanity is going to hell, the poor are always nearest to heaven".

— G.K.CHESTERTON

The Victorian Age in Literature. Page 81.

THE terms 'radical' and 'populist' have both been in relatively common use in Nationalist circles in the past. However, to my knowledge, they have seldom, as yet, been used together. Nonetheless, and in all honesty, I can not claim to be the innovator of the phrase since that honour goes to Margaret Canovan, who applied the term to G.K.Chesterton in her book *G.K.Chesterton - Radical Populist*, published in 1977.

On reading Miss Canovan's book I was struck first by how apposite the term 'radical populist' was to Chesterton's political and philosophical beliefs; his love of the common man and his championship of the poor being demonstrated in all his writing, not at least in the quote above.

However, I was also struck by how apposite the term 'radical populist' is to the National Front. It seemed to me, as I turned the pages of Miss Canovan's book, that we could learn far more from Chesterton's view of the world than merely the Distributist economic ideas which offered the NF a radical economic alternative to either capitalism or communism.

In fact, by embracing Chesterton's vision of the world, and his understanding of the nature of the people within it, we could come to understand ourselves and our relationship to those we wish to represent, i.e. the mass of the British people. In short, to get ourselves in order, the NF must be a radical populist Party!

SWEEPING

However, I would be the first to admit that, of itself, the above assertion is both sweeping and vague. After all, an objective observer may ask, what exactly is meant by 'radical populism'?

Starting with a dictionary definition the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines 'radical' as 1. *Of the root*; 2. *Naturally inherent, essential, fundamental*; 3. *Forming the basis, primary*; 4. *Affecting the foundation, going to the root*".

Thus 'radical' means getting to the very root, the very heart of the problem, something which is evidently essential before an objectively correct solution can be found. This makes a mockery of those

reactionaries who, like Pavlov's dogs, react automatically and without thought. For example, assertions such as 'radicalism is wrong' or 'radicalism is a myth' are patently absurd.

However, superficially at least, the dictionary definition of 'populist' is not so cut and dried. According to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* 'populist' means, rather obscurely, an "adherent of U.S. political party aiming at public control of the railways, graduated income tax, etc., formed 1892; adherent of Russian political party advocating collectivism."

As a staunch opponent of collectivism, and as an Englishman, G.K.Chesterton obviously does not fit this rather antiquated and pedantic definition! Neither, it goes without saying, does the National Front.

Nonetheless, a radical recourse to the dictionary, i.e. looking for the root-meaning of the term, gives us more pertinent and precise definition. The word 'populist' derives from the Latin word *populus*, meaning people. Hence, a populist is one who believes in his people.

Consequently, we find that a radical populist is one who believes in his people and seeks the root causes for their problems.

PRACTICAL

Now, however, it is necessary to apply radical populism in a practical sense. What exactly does it mean when we say that the National Front is a radical populist party? How does radical populism differ from other brands of Nationalism?

To answer these questions, a look at the NF's chequered history will prove instructive.

At the end of 1975 there was a split in the National Front, with what became known as the 'populist faction' splitting away to form the National Party. Consequently, those who remained loyal to the National Front came to look on 'populism' as a dirty word.

This distrust of 'populism' was nurtured by the NF's leadership, who wrote that the populists would water down policies. However in hindsight, the real reason for the anti-populism of the NF's leadership is obvious. They distrusted the popular approach because they distrusted the population! They had a cliquish, cultist mentality, rooted in Hitlerism. They were out of tune and out of touch with the public they purported to represent.

Then, as now, populism was attacked by those with a cliquish mentality who wish to turn the National Front into a cult, be it a personality cult or a semi-religious cult. Cranks in sects disliked and distrusted by and distasteful to the mass of the people whose support they shun.

Neither need there be any truth in the accusation that populists water-down

policies, for in spite of simplistic suggestions to the contrary, there is absolutely no conflict between radicalism and populism because our radical ideas are popular. Although, to reiterate the above quote by Chesterton, the masses may be 'ignorant', they are, nonetheless, in fundamental agreement with our radical viewpoint.

NF SUPPORTERS

In short, the public by and large, are National Front supporters even if they don't know it yet! As G.K.Chesterton put it: *"They (the working class) are under the enormous disadvantage of being right without knowing it. They hold their sound principles as if they were sullen prejudices."* (*Eugenics And Other Evils*). Page 177.

Our job in the months and years ahead is to make the British people aware that only the National Front reflects their inner feelings and instincts about the state of their Nation. We know this to be true but we have to make them know that it is true. To do that we must be populist, we must present our policies in a popular way. We must be seen as part, not apart, from the people.

And this is where the populist parts ways with those with a cliquish mentality ...

The builders of cults and sects, self-styled leaders of self-styled 'elites', make a virtue of being apart from the people. To these people the public are mindless sheep or, worse still, disgusting dross, not fit to be members of their 'club' or 'cadre'. Unfortunately, — or fortunately perhaps! — their pessimistic view of human nature ensures that they can't progress beyond being small and ultimately irrelevant groups.

NIHILISTIC

This is so because cliquism is essentially pessimistic, and pessimism, in turn, is essentially nihilistic — and nihilism negates growth. Again the relationship between pessimism and nihilism was illustrated succinctly by G.K.Chesterton: *"Pessimists ... could hardly curse even the blackest thing; for they could hardly see it against its black and eternal background. Nothing was bad, because everything was bad."* (*Charles Dickens* Page 5).

Populism, on the other hand, is quintessentially idealistic and optimistic, taking as its central maxim a deep-rooted belief in the inherent worth of the people.

This then is the choice which confronts Nationalists. We can take the path of radical populism or that of cliquish cultism. One leads to the people, the other leads away from the people. One leads to relevance and power, the other to irrelevance and oblivion.

RADICAL REALITIES

TOM ACTON

THE TERM 'Radical Nationalism' has acquired some very specific political meanings within National Front circles, since it first began to be widely used at the beginning of 1980's.

Amongst other things it has come to mean a greater emphasis on the socio-economic aspects of Nationalism, as well as more emphasis being placed on British heritage — both our literary and artistic heritage and our natural heritage of hill and lake, meadow and stream.

It would be foolish to deny that Radical Nationalism has had its critics. Some have argued that 'Radicalism' is irrelevant to the central task of British Nationalism — the preservation of our Race and Nation, especially in view of the immediate threat to its survival posed by the presence in our country of several million non-European immigrants.

Such opponents of radicalism argue that as long as there is the repatriation of coloured immigrants, British ownership of British industry and 'strong leadership' in Westminster all will be well.

If only life was as simple! This simplistic approach would alas not even ultimately solve our racial problems, for it ignores the root problems that brought multi-racialism about.

CAPITALISM ATTACKED

One of the most important aspects of Radical Nationalism is that it has consistently attacked International Capitalism as much as Communism for the threat it represents to our national existence. This is in marked contrast to the Nationalists of past years who were quite happy to leave the whole structure of industrial capitalism intact, as long as it was British-owned.

Yet Capitalism is inherently internationalist and anti-nationalist, and to allow it to continue in existence is to allow a deadly foe to flourish in our midst.

International Capitalism is an actual menace to our Nation and our Race, for its innate desire for profit-maximisation inherently and inevitably leads it to promote internationalism.

National governments may set up inconvenient trade barriers to protect their workers' livelihoods — so away with national governments. Big business spent millions on the Common Market campaign to create a Europe-wide market — for their benefit, not that of the Nation's consumed by the EEC.

Production can be 'rationalised' and costs lowered by concentrating production in one central location and exporting to other countries — so International Capitalists shut down their factories in that awkward little offshore island called Britain, and concentrated production in areas like the Ruhr Valley in Germany, where they can more easily supply the Euro-market.

As one International Capitalist put it, national and cultural differences in tastes and demands provide a major problem to efficient international marketing. So — away with national variety, and onwards to International Man — that rootless, raceless consumer who will buy whatever junk he is offered. To take one firm as an example — Coca-Cola in their advertising quite consciously promote the multi-racial 'international student image' to maximise their global sales.

International Capitalism will happily encourage mass immigration into a country if it gains an economic advantage in doing so — by keeping labour costs down for example; regardless of the harm done to the host country. And once it has brought about massive immigration, Capitalism will heavily promote racial mixing, to create 'good race relations'. Economically destabilising race riots are the last thing Capitalists desire — there's just no profit in them.

Whilst most Nationalists now accept the harm done to our national identity by International Capitalism there are those who cherish a naive belief in 'national' capitalism, thinking that as long as firms are British owned their interests and Britain's must always coincide.

This simply ignores the fact that the inherent motive force behind Capitalism is profit maximisation — and that inevitably leads to internationalism in the end. There are just so many opportunities open to the 'national' capitalist, on home markets for him to sell in. The profit-motive will inevitably lead the 'national' capitalist to agitate for internationalism eventually.

Of course even 'national' capitalists will take action clearly against our Nation's interests. For example the textile firms, that in the sixties, advertised in India for migrant workers to come to Britain, rather than pay decent wages to attract British workers.

Out of a realisation of the harmful nature of capitalism the NF's radical policies on industrial ownership were born. Producers co-operatives, where labour, not capital is the controlling factor of production, are inherently rooted in the people and hence inherently nationalistic. Would a workers' co-operative shut itself down because Third World sweatshop labour could be used to do the job? Hardly. Would a workers' co-operative have imported Asian labour to work in their textile business, when they would have had to face the social consequences of mass coloured immigration into their town? No they would not!

OTHER FACTORS

There were of course other factors behind coloured immigration than the financial and economic imperatives of Capitalism, and they have been largely analysed by Radical Nationalists yet who could seriously dispute

an argument that Capitalism was a major force behind multi-racialism? Mere repatriation would not guarantee Britain's racial survival — by leaving the forces that caused it intact we would inevitably be faced with the same threat again.

A Radical Nationalist analysis of the problem of immigration means that we attack the right target — the people, policies and economic systems that caused it, not the immigrants themselves, who are as much the victims of multi-racialism as the British are.



Coloured Immigration — We must attack the cause not the effect.

This was not clearly understood in the past, and reactionary elements, now fortunately no longer with us, would make ridiculous claims that, for example, 'Prosperity, order, science and beauty are the unique gifts of the White race'. As well as being simply an absurd exaggeration such statements were politically counter-productive, serving only to win sympathy for those they condemned.

Radical Nationalist analyses have also ensured the proper development of NF policies on a wider range of socio-economic issues. These policies are not simply an unnecessary trimming — they are vital to our development.

Had the NF stayed as a one-issue party how could we have seriously hoped to appeal to the unemployed or the homeless — those who are most likely to be disillusioned with the existing order and ready for a change? Would we have said to them 'Vote NF — we'll make sure you're in an all-white dole queue and on an all-White council waiting list'?

Because Radical Nationalism attacks the Establishment politico-economic system of Capitalism some people have mistakenly thought that it implied approval for Socialism. In truth it does nothing of the sort, for it recognises that Socialism is as inherently internationalistic as Capitalism — 'patriotic British Socialism' is as much a myth as 'patriotic British Capitalism'. The fact remains however that it is Capitalism, not Socialism, that has caused mass immigration and threatened our national identity.

Unless you understand that basic fact you cannot be a Radical Nationalist, in fact you cannot truly be a Nationalist at all . . .

PHOTO - HISTORY

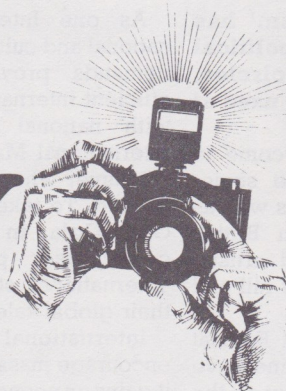
CAPTURED FOR POSTERITY

**NF Activists, and
NF Activities over
the years.**

**A brief Vanguard
review of some of
the highlights.**

Right: A section of the Women's Flag Party, during the 1985 Remembrance Day Parade to the Cenotaph.

Below: The drum corp has been an important feature of NF marches for many years. Neil Bagnall of Lambeth NF has been a stalwart drum corp member since the early eighties.



Left: A young Joe Pearce at an early YNF training seminar in the seventies.



Below: Continuing the tradition of Ulster Loyalism - an NF march through Guildford in 1986, to protest at the 'Anglo-Irish' sellout of Ulster.





Left ; Opposing the IRA in Cardiff, early in the 1980's.



Above;
Early electioneering - Leicester in 1970.

Above: An early march of 100 members through North London. Such activities helped to publicise the NF and encourage the formation of more local units.



Right: The seventies saw the most fruitful period for holding NF marches. This one, through Hackney in East London, was very useful in popularising the party in the local area - even though the Home Office censored the banner.



Above: Taking the Nationalist message to youth - Skrewdriver head a Rock Against Communism concert.



Below: Long-standing Brighton activist Caralyn Giles.

BOOK REVIEW

NATIONALIST DOCTRINE

A booklet the NF has needed for 20 years, argues MARTIN WINGFIELD

FROM THE REAR seat of the Cortina Estate, Graham Williamson and myself were just talking to the back of the heads of the driver Ian Anderson and passenger Joe Pearce.

It was typical mens' talk as we made our way along the M1 at 7.30 on a spring morning in 1984, the grins and giggles of adults who should know better, but who in the confines of a fumey vehicle, speeding up North for a day-long seminar in Leeds felt drawn together by a comradeship that is unique to Nationalist politics.

As we approached the turn-off to Coalville in Leicestershire, cruising along at a comfortable 70 miles an hour, a strip of metal splintered from the rear off-side hubcap and burst the tyre. The car careered towards the central reservation and then back towards the motorway verge with only Ian Anderson's swift reactions and skillful driving saving our lives as the car swerved one way then the other before finally coming to a standstill.

Four hours later in a smoked filled room in central Leeds Joe Pearce gave the most complete and decisive description of the National Front's political ideology I have ever heard.

He put into words what Nationalists feel in their hearts but cannot sometimes explain, he started to piece together the complex jigsaw that is the politics of Nationalism gradually revealing the reasoning behind our thinking and motivation.

WILL

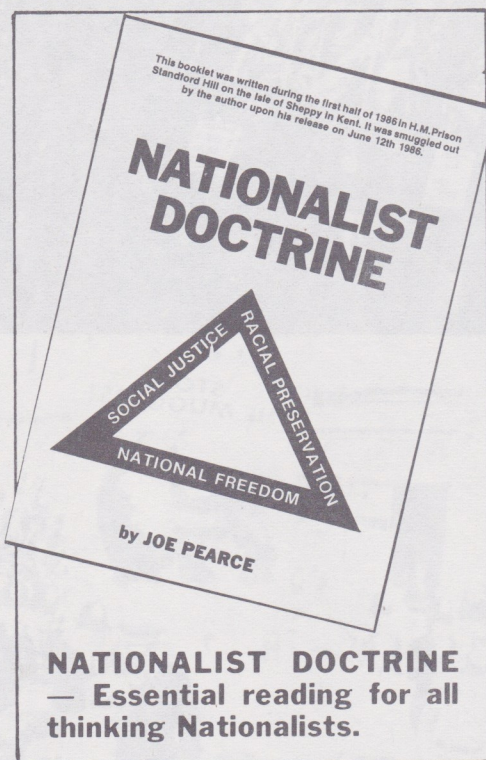
Previous NF leaders had promoted strength and resolve to deal with the Nation's problems, they had talked of the will to achieve the Nationalist goals, one even stated "the day the NF loses its ability to hate it will lose its ability to achieve anything worthwhile".

No one would argue that **strength** and **resolve** are admirable qualities and necessary in the battles ahead to win back our country. A philosophy, on the other hand, that is based on negative feelings such as hate will achieve very little if anything at all.

At that seminar in Leeds, and at branch meetings up and down the country over the past three years Joe Pearce has been explaining to NF members that there is much more to NF philosophy, that it is a philosophy based on love of principles and beliefs of things held dear to us rather than hate and abhorrence of things alien to us.

Now Joe has put this philosophy into print. National Doctrine has just been published by Freedom Books.

Joe's first book 'Fight For Freedom' encourages its readers to experience the deep waters of Nationalist politics. *Nationalist Doctrine* now encourages its readers to swim in those waters.



Like learning to swim it takes the reader step by step, never venturing too far ahead before going back to make sure the new knowledge is totally absorbed. By the method of 'Objection and Response' paragraphs at the end of each passage the reader is certain to digest the full implication of the author's message.

So what is the author's message? The message is that Nationalist doctrine is based on three fundamental premises, National Freedom, Racial Preservation and Social Justice and that all three of these are absolutely essential to the achievement and maintenance of national independence.

"One can no more have National Freedom in isolation from Racial Preservation and Social Justice, than one can have a naturally functioning brain in isolation from the heart or lungs".

FOUNDATIONS

The three foundations of Nationalism are examined in full together with their relationship to each other. The author chooses his words very carefully not wasting any and making sure his meaning is understood without unnecessary verbiage.

For National Freedom:-

"... the geographical space occupied by a nation can be likened to the physical body of a man ...

"If a nation's physical body is determined by its geographical boundaries, its spiritual and intellectual being is determined by its history, heritage and culture.

"A similar comparison can be made between individual members of a nation and individual cells in the human body. Millions of living cells are formed every day in the human body and, while they are alive they work to benefit the whole body to which they belong. When they die they are replaced by the next generation of living cells. Thus the life of the whole body is preserved and protected even though countless generations of living cells pass away. As it is with the relationship of living cells to the whole body, so it is with the relationship of individual members of the nation to the nation as a whole ... each generation holds the nation in trust, receiving it from ancestors and passing it on to descendants.

"... since a nation is organic and has an intelligent life of its own, it must have an inalienable right to freedom in the same way that a man has an inalienable right to freedom".

For Racial Preservation:

"... all the separate races of man deserve to be preserved and protected because they are all distinct life forms. They are unique - the creation of God, or evolution or both - and as such are precious. To wilfully destroy these races is an immoral act of the first magnitude known as genocide".

For Social Justice:

"Social Justice means justice for all members of the nation; and justice for all means unearned privilege for none.

"Social Justice demands ... An individual must have ownership and control over the place where he lives.

"... ownership and control over the place where he works.



A Doctrine for Britain.

"... ownership and control over all other means of personal sustenance.

"An individual must have real political muscle".

With regard to Social Justice the author is quick to disassociate the NF's ideals from either those promoted by Capitalism or Socialism

"... these creeds are centralist, by which we mean they centralise ownership, control and power into the hands of a privileged few be it State bureaucrats (in the case of Communism) or big business (in the case of Capitalism)."

Nationalist Doctrine explains the 'Green Triangle of Nationalism'. A triangle because Nationalist doctrine has the three principles of National Freedom, Racial Preservation and Social Justice. A triangle because each principle is dependent on the others — remove one principle and the triangle collapses and the doctrine flounders, and a green triangle because Nationalist doctrine is based on ecological factors.

Nationalist Doctrine is a book the National Front could have done with twenty years ago. If then we had had the positive guidance to show us the way forward the National Front would now be far more advanced in the political arena than we are today.

Victory in the battle to win back our country will come at the eleventh hour. The victory will be seized from the jaws of defeat because the British people by their very nature need to be taken to the brink before they react, and when they react they must be shown the right road to take to gain control over their own affairs. A road so clearly laid down in *Nationalist Doctrine* and a road that the British people must be guided towards by the National Front.

Order Form

NATIONALIST DOCTRINE is available from Vanguard Publications at the following prices:-

1 copy £1.30 inc p&p.

5 copies £5.50 inc. p&p.

10 copies £9.90 inc. p&p.

Please send your orders to: Vanguard Publications, P.O.Box 634, Hove, Sussex, BN3 5FZ. Cheques/POs should be made payable to 'Vanguard Publications'.

Please send me ... copies of **Nationalist Doctrine**, for which I enclose the sum of — £

NAME
ADDRESS

ELECTORAL STRUGGLE

GREENWICH — The campaign starts NOW

FOLLOWING the death of the sitting Labour MP, the marginal seat for the constituency of Greenwich fell vacant. Within a matter of days of this occurring the South London Regional Council of the National Front had decided that the party should contest the seat, and that the candidate would be the Assistant Editor of Vanguard — Joe Pearce.

Polling day will be sometime in March and 10,000 'warm-up leaflets' introducing Joe to the electors have been printed, and are being distributed. It now seems certain that this will be one of the most important, and most seriously-contested, by-election campaigns the NF has fought for several years.

The election will be important for a number of reasons:-

FIRSTLY The Labour Party's obsession with allying itself with Irish Republicanism, Black Power, 'Gay' Power and various other anti-British causes is increasingly alienating it from traditional working class Labour voters. The NF campaign will certainly highlight the fact that nowadays it is the NF, not Labour, that speaks for the ordinary working people.

SECONDLY because Greenwich is an area where the National Front should be a lot bigger and better organised than it currently is. The campaign must and will be used as a major recruitment campaign, so that once the election is over, regardless of the votes won, the party gains a strong thriving Greenwich Branch.

LASTLY, as most Nationalists are aware, 1986 was a year in which the party wasted too much time on petty internal disputes: with this campaign we can highlight the fact that the party is now back in top gear, and engaged once more in constructive work to advance the Nationalist cause.

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED!

A vast amount of work needs to be done if we are to contest this election properly. Tens of thousands of leaflets must be distributed, thousands of posters put up, and of course canvassing and paperselling teams must visit as many homes in the constituency as possible.

This work is already being started by South London activists. Can you help them? If you live anywhere in London please try and attend at least two leafletting/paperselling sessions a week. Out of London units should try to organise 'Action Weekends' and bus in activists to help out in the campaign.



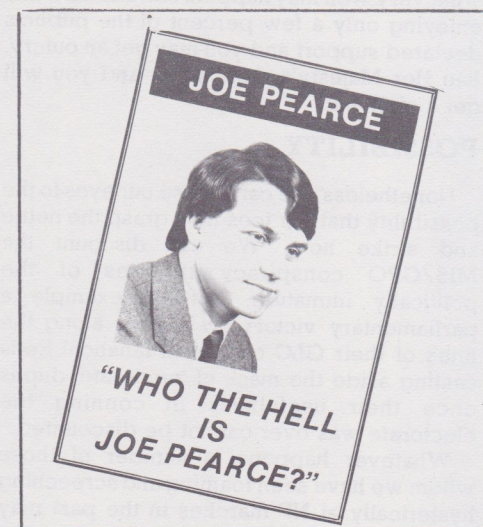
Joe Pearce
National Front Parliamentary
Candidate, Greenwich.

If you are unable to give your active support then please send a donation to help the campaign. We need to raise about £2,000 to fight a really top-class campaign — and with the record of generosity of Vanguard readers we are sure we can do it!

To give your active support ask your local NF Branch Organiser for details of how you can help; alternatively write to the NF Press and Elections Office, P.O.Box 230, Worthing, Sussex BN14 8EG for campaign details.

To give financial support please send donations to the above address. Cheques and postal orders should be made out to — 'Greenwich National Front By-Election Campaign Fund'

**DON'T LET JOE PEARCE OR
THE NATIONAL FRONT DOWN
— DO EVERYTHING YOU CAN
TO HELP!**



The warm-up leaflet
thousands have already
been distributed.

BEATING REPRESSION

STEVE BRADY

THE SUBJECT of 'State Repression' — either an outright legal ban on the National Front or a tightening up of the Public Order and Race Relations Acts as applied to us to the point where the NF is in effect banned — has been the subject of much, often ill-informed and sometimes hysterical discussion in the Nationalist Movement of late.

The previous article in this series took a cold, hard, hopefully clear-headed look at the historical and political facts of the matter, and concluded on the basis of all the evidence that 'repression' was, in the short to medium term at least, far from inevitable.

Indeed that those who have suffered it so far have to a very large extent brought it upon themselves, giving their enemies within the British ruling Establishment the excuses needed to validly, or at least very credibly, justify a ban. With sufficiently good political judgement, the NF should in all probability be able to dodge the repression trap and stave off any drastic Establishment action against us until we have mobilised enough of our latent public support to make such action politically, if not indeed physically, impossible.

But we can't rely absolutely on that. The issue, the very survival of our Nation and Race, is far too important for us simply to blandly assume the existing System will always behave as it has always behaved. It probably will — to break radically with the tradition of a 'free society' from which it draws much of its political legitimacy would place the Establishment itself under grave internal strain: it is not a monolith (even overtly totalitarian regimes like that in the USSR are not that) and might well disintegrate if it blatantly abandoned the pretexts under which it claims to rule.

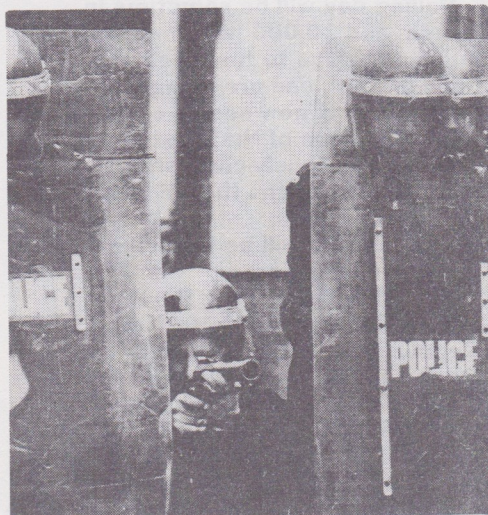
When we are much bigger, and desperation at our seemingly unstoppable rise mounts amongst those in power who realise what a total threat to their corrupt and traitorous regime we are, that is precisely what very well may happen. Ban a small body enjoying only a few percent of the public's declared support and you may get an outcry. Ban Her Majesty's Opposition and you will get a civil war.

POSSIBILITY

Nonetheless, we can't close our eyes to the possibility that our foes may grasp the nettle and strike now. We can discount the MIS/GPO conspiracy theories of the politically immature, but for example a parliamentary victory by Labour along the lines of their GLC one, with fanatical Reds casting aside the mask of 'moderate' dupes once their usefulness in conning the electorate was over cannot be discounted.

Whatever happens, a number of those whom we have seen foaming and screeching hysterically at NF marches in the past may have their backsides firmly planted on the 'Commons baize' after the next election.

So, although we must not become obsessed by the possibility of State



State Repression? or the inevitable response to an increasingly violent society.

repression, we should be prepared to deal with it if it comes. Such preparations must not divert the NF from its essential strategic direction, converting its potential mass support into an actual electoral/community mass following of conscious, active NF supporters.

That is the **only** direction which leads in the long run to the achievement of actual national power, and indeed it is the only way to avert, or failing that overcome, repression. Only with the committed support of at least a substantial percentage of the people can we hope to successfully confront the State, as the Ulstermen proved in 1974 with their victorious General Strike. Only a fool seeks a battle before he has recruited an army!

Nor must any 'preparations for repression' take the form of any theatrical paramilitary posing, 'cell structures', walkie-talkies and the like, which would be utterly pointless in any case even if it did not gravely risk provoking the very catastrophe it is supposed to be intended to avert.

We should plan, and let it be quite clear we plan, if banned to carry on down the road to power, mobilising even more public support by capitalising on the sympathy generated by repressing a legitimate and widely-shared point of view, sympathy even from Liberals who don't share our views at all, but a la Voltaire, will die (or at least get very restive) in defence of our right to hold them.

Already we should be pointing out that, as Joe Pearce and Martin Wingfield amongst others can testify, the British Government, like the South African, jails those who criticise its racial policies.

What we should not do, if banned, is destroy all public sympathy for us and probably our Cause by a lunatic campaign of desperate and futile destructiveness, terroristic self-immolation in a 'blaze of glory' which will be used by our enemies to retroactively 'justify' to the people their repressive deeds against us. A terrorist campaign which, even if we could not do anything else, would be totally unjustified because, morality aside, it would get us absolutely nowhere, being crushed relentlessly, sooner or later, by the State — whilst the people who might have applauded us, applaud them for crushing us. Many desperations do not equal one hope — and our only hope anyway is mobilizing the people, not blowing them up.

SELF RIGHTEOUS

So we don't prepare for repression by self-righteous cliquish isolation from the people, monolithic dictatorial centralisation and burying guns at the bottom of the garden. We prepare by sinking community roots as fast as we can, so we have sympathisers everywhere unknown to the enemy who can safehouse printing presses, literature and key activists.

We decentralise — as we have already done — so the arrest of nationally known leading figures won't impair the work of local units — let the enemy turn a broad sword against a wasp-swarm. And we bury ideas, political awareness and practical skills in local activists' heads, so the banning of one national NF paper only unleashes a hundred local *samizdats*, independent local newsletters of equal quality. And so on, all of it perfectly un-terroristic and legitimate, and extremely effective, but of course in detail not for discussion here.

Such preparations for repression in no way divert the NF from its main political task, mobilizing our latent power base. Even if repression never comes, sinking local roots, decentralising, and dispersing political knowledge and practical skills as widely throughout the membership as possible would all be necessary to increase the Party's campaigning effectiveness. And such preparations make repression less, not more, likely. For the aim of such repression, obviously, would be to stop the NF. **To stop the NF, in particular, doing what our enemies know perfectly well we could do and are afraid of us actually doing — linking up with our potential mass support base.**

The aim of our publically making it clear we do have plans for repression must not be macho James Bondage and posturing but

making it evident to the enemy that a ban simply will not work. It will not panic us into some lunatic deed that destroys our public legitimacy utterly and lets them claim they were right to ban us, and be believed. It will not stop us functioning politically and it will not stop us mobilising the one enemy our enemy really fears — the British people they have ruled, and exploited, and betrayed, and who for so long have placidly sat back and let them do it. But not for very much longer.

GREAT STRENGTH

For we in the NF have at last seen our corrupt, multi-racialist Establishment enemy's great weakness, and our great strengths — that most of all the millions of the British nation do not agree with them, and what they have done to our country, but they do agree, though as yet they do not realise it, with us, and with what we would do for them and Britain.

The irony is that the enemy knew it all along. That is why, however tiny and insignificant we have seemed at times, they always took us seriously. They have always sat, and known they have sat, on a powder keg. We have just discovered matches! As they always feared we would.

It's too late for them now. They can repress us all they like, they can ban us if they like, but across the country NF branch after NF branch will carry on, separately and together, applying the match of political agitation to the powder keg of public anger.

Until the explosion comes, the explosion of millions upon millions of British people across the land, mobilised openly if we can, mobilised covertly if we must, but mobilised nonetheless. The explosion of popular awakening that will blast them, and their multiracial society, into eternal oblivion.

Obituary

KEN LIBBY

I regret to have to inform you of the recent death of Ken Libby, of Plymouth National Front Group. Ken died in early December, 1986, after a six month illness. He was a great help to the NF in the South West, when we decided to reform the party in this region in 1985, and was the Plymouth Organiser for the first few months.

Ken had been in the Nationalist movement for 10 years and will be sadly missed by his friends and comrades in the South West. Ken leaves his wife Jan and three young children. He was only in his early forties.

Mark Cotterill
SW Regional Organiser
National Front.

NATIONALIST VIEWPOINTS

YOUR VIEWS MAKE NEWS!

VANGUARD welcomes your letters. Please write to: **Vanguard**, P.O. Box 634, Hove, East Sussex BN3 5FZ.

RELIGION

Dear Sir,

While I can agree with Sean O'Neill (Vanguard No.5) concerning the tactical danger of associating modern day nationalism with the outward forms and style of both German Nazism and, to a lesser extent, of the American Klans, I find his strictures about the Identity Movement and Dualism rather uncharitable.

Whatever one thinks about the specific theologies of groups such as Richard Butler's Aryan Nations (which is identity-based) or Robert Miles' Mountain Church (which is Dualist in belief), one cannot deny that these groups have provided a vital focus for the type of co-operative activity and unity that is common in the USA but so clearly non-existent in Britain. Anyone who has heard Robert Miles speak will know that, although his religion is unorthodox, he specifically rules out imposing his religion on other nationalists. He will say that the fight for Race and Nation transcends all that.

Nearer to home, where 'Identity' is known more often as 'British Israelism', one cannot deny that some of the most militant and forthright fighters for the cause of Ulster are in fact followers in it. Faith in specific

religious tenets does not rule out faith in Race and Nation too. They can and should, complement each other. Indeed, when we look at the institutionalised churches, Catholic, Protestant or whatever, we see them as deadly enemies of Race and Nation. Only British Israelites stand up openly in support of white kinfolk in Ulster and South Africa.

Yours sincerely,
D.King,
Herts.

IMMIGRATION ON APPEAL

Dear Vanguard,

Nearly half the immigrants who appealed against refusal to grant them entry to Britain last year won their cases.

This was revealed by the United Kingdom Immigrants Advisory Service in January.

Of 3,269 immigrants represented by UKIAS 1,335(41%) had their appeal allowed.

These figures further illustrate that immigration rules are far too lax. Now, it seems, even when immigration officials attempt to exclude immigrants from entering Britain they can't be sure of keeping them out.

Surely it's time that common sense prevailed. The British people must say 'enough is enough'. All immigration must be stopped and a policy of phased repatriation initiated. The alternative, a Britain sinking beneath a sea of colpur, is too awful to think about.

Yours sincerely,
Mrs Helen Dixon,
Newick,
Notts.

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WHERE GREED IS GOD

JOE PEARCE

"GREED is all right, by the way. I want you to know that. You can be greedy and still feel good about yourself."

These charming words were spoken last year by Ivan Boesky in a lecture to business students. Boesky, of course, was the financier at the centre of the insider-trading scandal which rocked the City of London in the wake of the much-publicised 'Big Bang'.

Boesky's greed-is-good mentality is indicative of his ilk. They have become so puffed up with the magnitude of their wealth and power that they are contemptuous of any traditional morality within which enterprise should be constrained. Today such morality is taboo in the City. We live in an ethical ice age.

Post-Bang, the City of London (excepting the clearing banks) is already under foreign domination, with money brokers next in line after the recent reversal of the no-foreign control rule. Thus, as was predicted in the pages of this magazine, the Big Bang was nothing but a wholesale sell-out by the City to foreign interests. This being so, will the new foreign-controlled City of London be any less corrupt or will Boesky's greed-is-good mentality emerge triumphant?

A look at the facts of financial life will illustrate that the latter is far more likely ...

The reality is that the chance of getting away with financial crime has never been better. To paraphrase the late, and unlamented, Harold MacMillan, City crooks have never had it so good.

Modern communications; a 'loyalty-free' environment ('every man for himself') with market operators switching within and between different firms and centres; immense reservoirs of black money to work with; availability of safe bolt holes (Switzerland pre-eminent, plus 101 offshore islands if you don't need respectability); a growing minority of accountants and lawyers willing to facilitate the hideaway schemes on a 'no questions asked' basis; fear for being thought 'holier than thou', or unmacho; non-

disclosure of discovered crime to protect market credibility in a PR age; no checks or controls on movements of funds or use of nominee/trustee holdings etc; the increasingly casino mentality at large — these factors are even more prevalent in the aftermath of the Big Bang than they were before it and together they will constitute an almost insuperable impediment to effective policing of financial practices.

CORRUPIES

Bearing the above factors in mind, it is no surprise that one City columnist recently described insider dealing as "unquestionably rampant". Another columnist reported that insider traders even have a name — 'corrupies'.

The backdrop to all this is that life for the City of London, in the wake of the Big Bang, has never been so pressurised. The new foreign owners are now expecting returns on the huge sums paid in buying up City firms.

The demand for quick results, and, above all, the general money addiction, put people under intolerable strain. Law-breaking apart, it ensures that wider non-financial considerations are rarely given a look-in. They simply complicate and slow down decision-making.

Even (the few) committed Christians who work in the City are overborne by all this. One well-known City figure, a convinced Christian, was heard to emphasise to like-believing colleagues that they should not allow religious precepts to infect (his words) their strategic decisions.

As one experienced City man, Patrick Coldstream, observed recently: "Like other idols, the idea of The Market has the power of enchantment tending to nullify other ways of thought and to affect devotees with a sort of mental paralysis. A total explanation of everything produces a sort of closed system into which non-market considerations cannot stray".

Consider what used to be called greed, or

covetousness. In today's hard-nosed financial world, enough is never enough. The new philosophy is one dimensional and cannot cope with such concepts. Rather it blesses greed and sanctifies covetousness as the primary engines of that rabid competitiveness which screws the best returns out of the market.

Saul Steinberg, who recently cleaned up £33 million on his Mercury International ambush, described it all as "a way of going to war without killing anybody". Presumably financial killings are exempted from Steinberg's definition

The specific problem for Britain is to know whether the City of London is its greatest offspring, as Thatcher and her ilk would have us believe, or whether it has grown into a magnificent cuckoo. A cuckoo which feeds off and destabilises a declining industrial base. A cuckoo which displaces right values and devours a disproportionate share of the nation's best brains (more graduates are now attracted to the City than to industry).

RAY OF HOPE

However, amid the gloom and despair, there is still a ray of hope for those who desire a return to a self-sufficient Britain, free from foreign control and free from greed-is-good amorality which is the *raison d'être* of the City of London. That ray of hope was outlined in a previous issue of *Vanguard* ('Going out with a bang' - Issue No.3) and was further reinforced by Patrick Coldstream's above description of the City's idolisation of The Market.

As Mr Coldstream states, The Market has been virtually deified by the City, and as such, it has "the power of enchantment tending to nullify other ways of thought and to affect devotees with a sort of mental paralysis."

But how does this idolisation of the market represent a ray of hope for those who seek a return to a self-sufficient Britain?

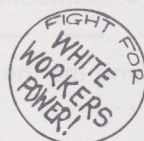
Quite simply it demonstrates that the City of London is essentially blind. It can't see beyond the end of its (hooked) nose because it has to act, at all times, in accordance with the dictates of market forces. To employ theological terminology, the City of London has lost its Free Will because its actions are constantly **determined** by conditions in the market.

In practical terms this means the City, being blinkered and blinded by the light of its own market religion, will follow market forces even if those market forces lead it to the abyss.

The City has enshrined the Market as Deity. Greed-is Good becomes Greed-is-God! Yet ironically and appropriately, by attributing the market with God-like powers the sharks in the City have also, unwittingly, given the market the power to destroy them. That, to continue the analogy, is Divine justice!

• NATIONALISE THE BANKS!

• SMASH THE STOCK EXCHANGE!



STAMP OUT CAPITALISM!

PREPARING FOR THE NEXT 20 YEARS

OVER 100 OFFICIALS of the National Front, representing nearly 50 Branches of the Party met in Paddington, London on January 10th.

In the years to come it will undoubtedly be remembered as one of the most important and constructive meetings in the history of the National Front.

Those present were united in their recognition of the fact that the NF has usually been its own worst enemy over the past 20 years, and were united in their determination to ensure that internal factionalism does not hamper our development over the next 20 years.

It is an often overlooked fact that the natural condition of the National Front is that of progress: in the years which have not been wasted by futile internal infighting the party has generally progressed — membership has increased, activities have increased and new branches have been formed.

NEW LINES

With this in mind all those present voted unanimously to reform the National Front on completely new lines. Having preached the principles of decentralisation and distributism for years the NF is now going to practice what it preaches. A new confederate structure was approved in principle; a structure that will give more power to the branches, and will reduce the chances of internal power-struggles and squabbles in the future.

It will also eliminate the need for much of the bureaucratic central administration that has proved such a drain on the party's



NF officials vote unanimously to reform the Party as a confederacy of Branches.

finances in the past. The fact that membership files will be maintained locally, instead of all being maintained at a central location, is also a security bonus.

The Principles of the Confederacy are reproduced on the right, and the Steering Committee elected at the meeting will draft the new Constitution for the NF for approval by members at the next NF AGM.

A feature of the meeting was the lively and constructive contributions from the floor. Morale was high as the meeting agreed the National Front should contest the forthcoming Greenwich by-election and an excellent collection of over £540.00 pounds was taken towards the cost of the campaign, in addition to the £250 that had already been pledged towards the campaign.

The mood of the officials as they left the conference could easily be summed up: 'We're putting past troubles behind us — and we're looking forward to the next 20 years!'

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CONFEDERACY

The Confederacy of National Front Branches is based upon the belief that power within the National Front must reside with the Members and not with unrepresentative and out of touch cliques.

This being so, the 8 Principles of the Confederacy are as follows:-

1. The National Front shall be a Confederation of semi-autonomous Branches, united by a common radical Nationalist ideology.
2. Branch funds, and all other locally owned assets, shall be the property of that Branch alone.
3. Branches shall be responsible for issuing membership cards and collecting subscription fees. All money collected for subscriptions shall be the property solely of the Branch.
4. The cost of joining and renewing membership of the National Front shall be decided at the sole discretion of individual Branches of the Party.
5. Each Branch shall be run by a Committee comprising paid-up members of that Branch. Branch Committees shall be elected on an annual basis at Annual General Meetings at which all paid-up members of the branch may vote.
6. The National Front shall be governed by a National Directorate comprised jointly of Regional Representatives, elected by the Branch Committees at Regional Council meetings, and a National Executive, elected by a vote of members at the NF's Annual General Meeting.
7. The majority of places on the National Directorate must always be filled by Regional Representatives and the National Executive must be answerable at all times to the National Directorate. Thus, the Directorate will always be controlled by elected representatives from all Regions of the country.
8. Branches who wish to be part of the Confederacy must act in a way that furthers the cause of the National Front. Branches which bring the Party into disrepute shall be expelled from the Confederacy by a majority of vote of the National Directorate.



ANDREW BRONS makes the opening speech - 'Why this meeting is so important'.



MARTIN WINGFIELD, Chairman of the NF Steering Committee makes the closing speech to the conference.



TOM ACTON outlines the wide range of recruiting material now available.

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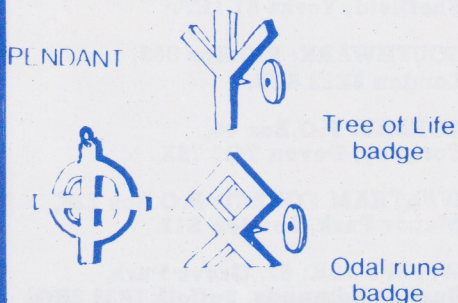
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-FIGHT BACK FOR BRITAIN-



IF YOU believe in Britain, if you believe in the Nationalist cause, then please give the National Front your ACTIVE support. Please don't just sympathise with Nationalism: join the thousands of people all over Britain who are WORKING to bring National Liberation and Social Justice to this country. Remember — the worst Nationalist is an armchair Nationalist!

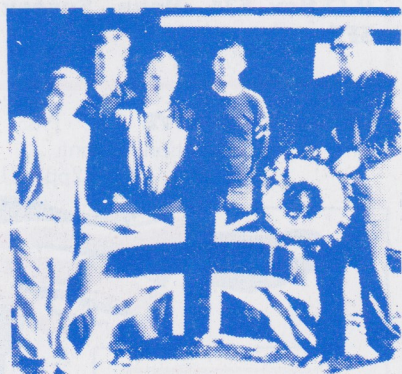
If you want to give your active support to the Nationalist struggle then the best way you can help is to join your local branch of the National Front, and work to advance the cause in your home town, borough or village.

HELP ORGANISE

Paper-selling, leafletting, going to meetings and demonstrations, helping to organise fund-raising and social events — there's a tremendous amount YOU can do to help your local NF Branch.

Listed below are the names and addresses of a number of NF Branches that can be contacted directly via their own Branch addresses.

Each Branch will be glad to send you information about the NF, and invite you to their next Branch meeting. When you write to them a modest donation to cover the Branch's administrative and postage costs would be appreciated.



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SOUTHWARK: P.O.Box 383,
London SE22 8UU.

TORBAY: P.O.Box 46,
Torquay, Devon TQ2 7SX.

WALTHAM FOREST: P.O.Box 228,
Manor Park, London E12.

W/SUFFOLK: 67, Grove Park,
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk IP33 3BQ.

WORTHING: P.O.Box 230,
Worthing, Sussex BN14 3EG.

ESSEX: BCM EXOTIC,
London WC1N 3XX

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Above: An early march of 100 members through North London. Such activities helped to publicise the NF and encourage the formation of more local units.



Right: The seventies saw the most fruitful period for holding NF marches. This one, through Hackney in East London, was very useful in popularising the party in the local area - even though the Home Office censored the banner.



Left: A young Joe Pearce at an early YNF training seminar in the seventies.

Below: Continuing the tradition of Ulster Loyalism - an NF march through Guildford in 1986, to protest at the 'Anglo-Irish' sellout of Ulster.



Above: Taking the Nationalist Skrewdriver head a Rock concert.